

# THE MILITANT

**Special 8-page feature**  
**‘Malcolm X, Black Liberation**  
**and Road to Workers Power’**  
 —PAGES 7–14

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## Iran: students resume protests for more rights



Demonstration of 1,000 students at Tehran University September 28 forced Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to cancel visit for celebration of new school year.

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Thousands of university students in Tehran demonstrated for democratic rights at the opening of the school year. “The university is still alive” read one banner, referring to the unsuccessful efforts of the government to intimidate those fighting for free speech and press, the right to assemble, freedom of political prisoners, and more rights for women.

About 1,000 students protested September 28 at Tehran University, forcing President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to cancel his visit for the celebration of the new school year. They chanted “death to the dictator” and demanded the release of jailed

political activists.

The day before, hundreds of students protested a talk on campus by Gholam Ali Hadad Adel, a right-wing member of parliament. “You are against the people, traitor!” they shouted.

On September 29 more than 1,000 students at Sharif University, also in Tehran, demonstrated against a visit by Kamran Daneshjoo, the minister of science and higher education, forcing him to leave early.

The government arrested 18 student leaders October 2 while they were holding a discussion in a park. According to the *New York Times*, they

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## New book on Black struggle offered with subscription

BY NORTON SANDLER

The special eight-page supplement in this issue of the *Militant* provides our readers with a preview of the forthcoming Pathfinder title *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*. Distributors of the *Militant* are making this book available to anyone who purchases a subscription to the *Militant* for the special prepublication price of \$10.00. Purchase a subscription now and the book will be delivered to you soon after it rolls off the press in November.

The supplement contains the introduction to the book by Jack Barnes. Barnes is the Socialist Workers Party’s national secretary and author of several other Pathfinder titles and featured articles in *New International* magazine.

The supplement includes a selection of useful photos—most of which will be in the book—that help tell the story. The book’s table of contents is listed on page 9.

Anyone who has subscribed in recent weeks can purchase this title for the special prepublication price from distributors listed on page 6.

Based on the response they are receiving and the possibilities for using the special supplement to win new

readers, several areas have raised their quotas for the subscription drive. This includes Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle, and the Twin Cities.

Distributors reported numerous successes selling subscriptions over the past week.

Volunteers from the Midwest sold eight subscriptions and many Pathfinder books at the Association for the Study of African Life and History conference held in Cincinnati. Three participants at a demonstration in

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## Fund helps tell truth about capitalist crisis

BY JAMES HARRIS

A lively discussion on the importance of building a revolutionary party of workers took place in Houston October 3. It was one of several meetings across the country as part of the effort to raise \$95,000 for the party-building fund of the Socialist Workers Party.

In the second week of the drive,

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## Official joblessness tops 15 million in U.S. ‘Stimulus’ fails to reverse production crisis

BY DOUG NELSON

Unemployment in the United States has doubled since it began rising rapidly in April 2008, from 7.7 million to 15.1 million in September, according to the most recent Labor Department figures.

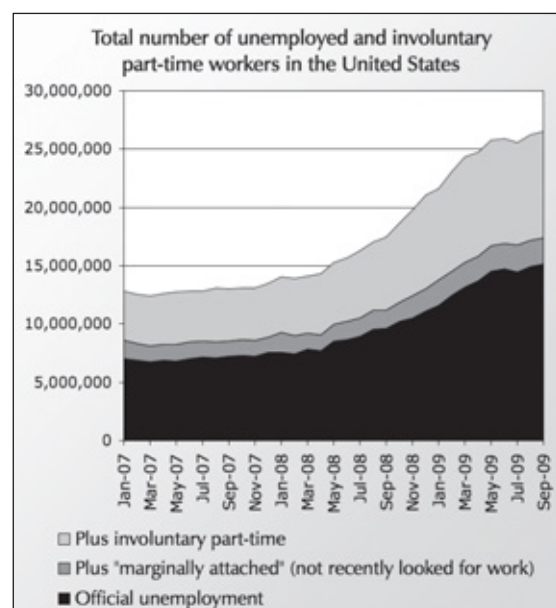
Various efforts by the capitalist rulers to “stimulate” their profit system through prods at consumer spending have already revealed their futility, lending further proof that the crisis is not a product of bad policy, but a more fundamental one created by the natural workings of the world capitalist system.

The official unemployment rate rose from 9.7 percent in August to 9.8 percent in September. While the sharp spike in joblessness began to slow in May, the trend has continued upward.

The combined rate of real joblessness and underemployment—what the Bureau of

Labor Statistics calls its “U-6 alternative measure of labor underutilization”—has risen for 20 of the last 22 months and now stands at 17 percent. This includes unemployed workers not counted in the official figure who the government claims have not looked for a job over the past month,

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## Indonesia, Samoa quakes expose legacy of imperialist exploitation



Oxfam /Kate Thwaites

Padang, Indonesia, after September 30 earthquake that killed more than 1,100. Toll was magnified by social inequalities due to colonial legacy and capitalist underdevelopment.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A powerful earthquake struck the Indonesian island of Sumatra September 30, laying bare the social inequalities resulting from decades of colonial rule and capitalist underdevelopment.

According to a UN report, more than 1,100 died and thousands of others were trapped under collapsed buildings. The shoddily built structures and slowness in aid arriving has led to increased deaths and injuries of workers and farmers in the area.

In a separate disaster the day before, an underwater earthquake measuring

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# N.Y. rally backs fight by college cafeteria workers

BY TOM BAUMANN

NEW YORK—A spirited rally took place here in front of Hunter College October 5 to demand that AVI Food-systems, the new school cafeteria contractor, maintain the health and pension benefits that cafeteria workers received in past contracts.

More than 100 people joined the action, including students from Sarah Lawrence College, where cafeteria workers are currently being denied union recognition by AVI.

The action was called by UNITE HERE Local 100, which represents the more than 20 food-service workers at Hunter College.

The company threatened to fire any worker who walked off the job to join the rally, said Jonathan Villanueva, a cashier who watched the rally from the register. “In the beginning, they said nothing would change, but they haven’t honored anything,” he said.

Debbie Johnson, who has worked at the college for 10 years, is a member of the contract negotiating committee. AVI wanted to start all the workers at minimum wage, but quickly backed down. The company is now offering 401(k) plans instead of pensions. “We don’t want 401(k)’s. We want pensions,” Johnson said. She told the rally, “They’re not going to come and wreck everything we worked so hard for.”

Lisa Cooper, a 24-year veteran of the job, told how AVI was bringing in new hires in every department in preparation for workers going on strike. “We don’t care. We’re not scared. We’re go-

ing to fight,” she said.

Paula Woodfine, a food preparer who has worked at the college for 22 years, said AVI wants them to work three times as fast for less pay and no health care. Food worker Joey Esposito explained that he needed dental insurance. “AVI should go back to Ohio,” he said, where the company is based.

A large percentage of those present were students and faculty from Hunter. Sophomore Erica Suarez said that this was the first protest she had been to. She was upset that the cafeteria workers were not getting health benefits.

Mike Filippou, former striker from the Stella D’oro cookie factory in the Bronx, also joined the action. “Workers need to stick together,” he said.

## Cargo pilots in Miami win first union contract

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

MIAMI—Pilots at Amerijet International, a cargo airline, won their first contract September 14. Their five-year fight included a two-week strike against the company. The pilots voted 35–3 for the contract. Five years ago they voted for representation by the Teamsters union.

“For me, a major part of the contract, in addition to wages and benefits, was finally succeeding in having a revised sick leave policy and the addition of on-board toilet facilities,” said Kamal Patel, a pilot at Amerijet in Miami, reported the Teamsters Web site. “When we struck Amerijet a couple of weeks ago they were going to make us con-



Militant/Tom Baumann

Cafeteria workers at New York’s Hunter College rallied October 5 for health care and pensions. From left, Debbie Johnson, Lisa Cooper, Paula Woodfine, all members of union negotiating committee. “They’re not going to wreck everything we worked so hard for,” said Johnson.

tinue working in the unsanitary conditions we’ve been suffering in. But now, with the new contract, the addition of toilet facilities is a written part of the agreement.”

The pilots said they went on strike because they are forced to fly long shifts on very little sleep and penalized for taking sick days, reported AP.

Because there were no toilet facilities on the cargo planes, they were also forced to use special bags if they had to go to the bathroom during a flight. Federal Aviation Administration spokeswoman Kathleen Bergen told CNN that lavatories, or the lack thereof, are not a concern for regulators and is not an aviation safety issue. “There is ab-

solutely no requirement for any aircraft to have a lavatory,” she said.

Amerijet pilots received support from pilot unions at other airlines.

The union said Teamster-represented maintenance workers and cleaners at Miami International Airport refused to cross the picket lines. Other unions in South Florida, the Caribbean, and South America supported the strikers, including the United Petroleum Workers.

Teamsters Local 769 in Miami represents 58 flight deck crew members employed by Amerijet, which operates primarily to and from Miami International Airport and the Caribbean islands and Latin America.

## THE MILITANT

### Stop tuition hikes, enrollment cuts!

*Students at state schools around the country face tuition hikes and reduced enrollment as the Democrats and Republicans slash funds for public education, claiming there is a “budget crisis.” Keep up with this fight by reading the ‘Militant.’*



Militant/Betsey Stone

Hundreds of college students march against cuts in Davis, California, September 24.

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### Mary Lipman: Party builder for five decades

SAN FRANCISCO—Mary Lipman, a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, died following a stroke in Santa Cruz, California, September 30. She was 85.

A meeting to celebrate Lipman’s life and party-building contributions over more than 50 years will take place in San Francisco. Details will be forthcoming.



Militant/Dave Wulp

Mary Lipman at 2004 national convention of Socialist Workers Party in Oberlin, Ohio.

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Editor: Sam Manuel

Managing Editor: Martín Koppel

Business Manager: Angel Lariscy

Editorial volunteers: Tom Baumann, Róger Calero, Seth Galinsky, Cindy Jaquith, Ben Joyce, Omari Musa, Doug Nelson, Jacob Perasso

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant’s views. These are expressed in editorials.

# London protest demands ‘Free the Cuban Five’

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON—Chanting “Justice now! Free the five!” 250 people joined a candlelight protest October 1 outside the U.S. embassy here. The protest was organized by the Cuba Solidarity Campaign to demand “immediate and unconditional release” of Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, René González, and Antonio Guerrero, known as the Cuban Five.

The five Cuban revolutionaries were arrested in 1998 on a range of frame-up charges that included “conspiracy to commit espionage” and in one case, “conspiracy to commit murder.” They had been keeping the Cuban government informed about rightist groups that have a long record of carrying out bombings and armed attacks against Cuba from U.S. soil.

Their arrest and imprisonment for 11 years have been marked by violations of democratic rights, including illegal search and seizure, denial of the right to a speedy trial, long stints in solitary confinement, prison lockdowns, and denial of visitation rights.

Jeremy Corbyn, a Labour Party member of Parliament, denounced their imprisonment as “crass injustice.” Corbyn was one of a dozen speakers at the protest. Other speakers included representatives of the Trades Union Congress and national union officials, lawyer Steve Cottingham, and Miriam Palacios, representing Cubans living in the United Kingdom. One of them, prestigious violinist Omar Puente, played a composition he had written for the families of the five. Greetings were read from the Venezuelan ambassador to the United Kingdom.

The protest was joined by Adriana Pérez, wife of Gerardo Hernández, and Olga Salanueva and Irma González, wife and daughter respectively of René González. The U.S. government has denied Pérez and Salanueva visas to enter the country to visit their husbands. “Visitation rights should be granted immediately,” demanded Keith Sonnet, deputy general secretary of the health workers union, Unison.

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### CALIFORNIA

**San Francisco**  
**China 60 Years After the Revolution.** Speaker: Eric Simpson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. 5482 Mission St. Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

### PENNSYLVANIA

**Philadelphia**  
**Capitalism and the Transformation of Africa.** Meeting to benefit Socialist Workers Party 2009 party-building fund. Speaker: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. 188 W. Wyoming Ave. Tel.: (215) 455-2862.

### SWEDEN

**Stockholm**  
**No to Sanctions Against Iran.** Speaker: Dag Tirsén, Communist League. Fri., Oct. 16. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Bildhuggarvägen 17, 12144 Johanneshov. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Salanueva addressed the crowd, bringing greetings from the five and thanks for the widening international support for their release.

“I spoke with René today and he knows you’re here this evening,” she said. The five “will never tire. They know they have on their side truth, reason, and the dignity of the Cuban people.”

Two days earlier, the Cuban women addressed 150 people during a meeting at the Labour Party conference organized by the trade union Unite. They were joined on the platform by the union’s joint general secretary, Tony Woodley.



Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Among those participating in October 1 London rally demanding “Free the Cuban Five” are from left, Irma González, daughter of imprisoned Cuban revolutionary René González; Olga Salanueva, his wife; and Adriana Pérez, wife of Gerardo Hernández.

## Atlanta’s only public dialysis center to close

BY LISA POTASH

ATLANTA—Some 100 people packed a county courtroom here September 23 to demand that a temporary restraining order preventing Grady Memorial Hospital from closing its dialysis unit remain in place. But four days later Judge Ural Glanville lifted the order, clearing the way for closing the dialysis center. Grady, the only public hospital in the metropolitan area, closed the dialysis unit October 3.

Patient Ignacio Godinez Lopez told the *Militant* that many of the patients couldn’t come to court on the hearing date because some were scheduled for treatment and were afraid of missing their appointment in light of the imminent closing of the clinic.

The hospital’s chief executive tried to close the dialysis clinic in 2007, but

protests kept it open and eventually contributed to his dismissal. A new hospital board decided in July to try again, and gave notice to dialysis patients in August that the clinic would close September 19.

This followed the elimination of 150 jobs at the hospital, the closure of its primary care clinic, and instituting higher fees to Grady patients living in counties other than Fulton and DeKalb. The metro area includes a number of other counties. Three months ago, the state of Georgia cut Medicaid payments by 3 percent.

About 90 patients received the kidney-cleansing procedure at Grady, some of whom are undocumented immigrants. Hospital officials say Grady will pay for three months of treatment at Fresenius Medical Care for 51 of the patients af-

ected by the Grady clinic’s closure. But the October 5 *Atlanta Journal Constitution* reported that some of these patients are already running into “snags” in getting treated at Fresenius clinics.

The hospital has offered to send patients to their countries of origin or to other states to receive treatment. But some of the states listed to receive the patients say that no such government-funded treatment is available for them.

In his ruling allowing the hospital to close the dialysis clinic, Judge Glanville said that the patients have no legal standing and there is little chance of them prevailing. The judge also said he will continue to hear arguments in the case at a hearing anticipated to occur in about a month.

“At least 51 patients had their life support system unplugged today under the authorization of this judge,” said Lindsay Jones, an attorney for the patients. Jones has since filed an amended complaint against the clinic’s closing.

Abebech Tadesse expressed the urgency the patients and their family members feel. “We have no options,” she said, referring to her father, a dialysis patient. “The only option is to count the days until he dies.” Her father, Tadesse Amdago, 69, is from Ethiopia, and has a green card.

In a phone interview, dialysis patient Clorice Hoskins said, “I’m a Canadian and a green card holder. I don’t understand why in ‘the land of the free,’ as the U.S. calls itself, people who are not U.S. citizens don’t have rights, like we’re not human.”

## Fund helps tell workers truth

Continued from front page

supporters of the fund have raised just over \$18,000, or 19 percent of the goal. To be on schedule the fund should be at 25 percent, or nearly \$24,000. The eight-week drive ends November 10. In the upcoming week, supporters in different areas will be discussing how to get and stay on schedule and to close a \$3,000 shortfall in pledges toward the goal.

The meeting in Houston featured Róger Calero, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the party’s presidential candidate in 2004 and 2008. It was attended by 15 participants, including two garment workers attending their first Militant Labor Forum.

Calero explained that the current capitalist “recovery” is taking place “in the midst of a massive destruction of capital,” wrote Jacquie Henderson, one of the organizers of the fund in Houston. Calero took up the attack on abortion rights within the health-care debate, the expansion of the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and imperialism’s drive for tougher sanctions against Iran. He explained the importance of working-class fighters “internalizing these facts today, so we will not be caught short politically as wars erupt, deeper social crises explode, and working-class struggles become life-and-death battles.”

Henderson reported that a lively discussion took place during the question-and-answer period. Are we in a depression like the ’30s now? Will

unemployment continue to rise as the economy is “improving”? What does the destruction of capital have to do with leveraging debt?” participants in the meeting asked Calero.

Calero pointed to the surge in bankruptcies as an example of the “great unwinding of corporate leverage,” noting that in the first half of the year 117 nonfinancial U.S. companies defaulted on more than \$300 billion of debt. More than \$1 trillion in corporate high-yield debt—junk bonds—comes due between now and 2015. “This crisis is only beginning to unfold,” Calero said.

“It is clarity that the Socialist Workers Party brings through its program to working people, students, and others involved in struggles that will grow as the rulers continue to push us against the wall, and we begin to lose the fear to fight. They will be attracted to a revolutionary party that they know is not afraid to tell workers the truth about what the capitalist economic depression holds in store for them and will want to join us. That’s what we are inviting you to be a part of,” said Calero.

At the meeting \$931 was collected for the fund. The money being raised is needed to aid the work of the Socialist Workers Party as it reaches out to workers, farmers, and young people with a revolutionary working-class perspective on the unfolding world economic crisis and imperialism’s expanding wars.

### Party-building fund Fall 2009 ♦ Week 2 of 8

City	Quota	Paid	%
<b>San Francisco</b>	<b>\$13,000</b>	<b>\$5,236</b>	<b>40%</b>
<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>\$9,200</b>	<b>\$2,502</b>	<b>27%</b>
Newark, NJ	\$3,000	\$722	24%
New York	\$16,000	\$3,739	23%
Chicago	\$9,500	\$1,899	20%
Boston	\$2,800	\$542	19%
Seattle	\$7,000	\$1,090	16%
Des Moines, IA	\$2,400	\$370	15%
Miami	\$3,000	\$370	12%
Washington, D.C.	\$5,500	\$560	10%
Atlanta	\$7,500	\$650	9%
Twin Cities, MN	\$6,600	\$255	4%
Houston	\$2,700	\$100	4%
Philadelphia	\$3,500	\$0	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$91,700</b>	<b>\$18,035</b>	<b>19%</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>	<b>\$95,000</b>	<b>\$23,750</b>	<b>25%</b>

# Students rally in Iran

**Continued from front page**  
are members of the Office for Consolidating Unity, a student organization that has fought for democratic rights. The group released a statement denouncing the arrests.

### Nuclear inspections

Meanwhile Mohamed ElBaradei, head of the UN nuclear enforcement agency, announced October 4 that Tehran has agreed to allow an inspection October 25 of a previously undisclosed uranium enrichment facility. A meeting with Iran, the United States, France, and Russia to discuss Iranian purchase of enriched uranium from abroad is scheduled for October 19.

Representatives of Iran and the permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany met about Iran’s nuclear program October 1 in Geneva. Leading up to the Geneva meeting, U.S. president Barack Obama was joined by his counterparts in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany in threatening further sanctions if Iran did not cease enriching uranium. Enrichment is a step in the nuclear process necessary to produce fuel for power generation, but it can also be used to manufacture a weapon. Moscow has tacitly supported the idea of further sanctions.

The same day as the Geneva meeting, the U.S. House of Representatives approved a measure that bars the U.S. Energy Department from extending contracts to foreign companies for crude oil delivery to the U.S. Strategic Reserve if those companies sell or ship gasoline to Iran. Iran is unable to refine sufficient oil to supply domestic fuel demands. It imports as much as 40 percent of its gasoline.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Treasury Department is stepping up its enforce-

ment of already existing sanctions. “The U.S. Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control, the agency spearheading enforcement, has beefed up its investigative and enforcement teams, officials say,” reported the *Wall Street Journal* October 2. Among the targets are “foreign subsidiaries, distributors or customers who are improperly reselling goods into Iran.”

The Treasury Department announced October 1 that it had fined a Florida financial services firm \$3 million for violating restrictions on trade with Iran. According to the government, Gold and Silver Reserve, Inc. opened accounts with more than 56,000 residents in Iran for e-currency services.

Iran’s most prominent oppositionist, former presidential candidate Mir Hossein Mousavi, has opposed imposition of new sanctions on Iran. Calling Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s policies “wrong and adventurist” he argued that “sanctions would not affect the government but would impose many hardships upon the people, who suffer enough as a result of the calamity of their insane rulers.”

### Uranium enrichment

The Iranian government has insisted up to now on its right to carry out all enrichment of uranium on Iranian soil. A proposal to enrich the uranium in Russia made years ago had elicited no positive response from the Iranian government. But while in New York to address the United Nations, Ahmadinejad issued a request to ease sanctions on Iran’s purchase of low-grade enriched uranium in order to fuel its research reactor.

At the October 1 talks, according to U.S. and European officials, Tehran agreed in principle to send most of its uranium to Russia for processing and

## Sweden youth attracted to Pathfinder titles



Militant/Dag Tirsén

GOTHENBURG, Sweden—Many young people stopped by the Pathfinder books booth at the Gothenburg Book Fair September 24–27. The newest issue of *Ny International* was the best seller with seven copies purchased. It features the article *Revolution, Internationalism, and Socialism: The Last Year of Malcolm X* translated into Swedish. Titles about women’s liberation were also popular. Among those sold were three copies of *Problems of Women’s Liberation* and two copies of *Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women*.

Sixteen of those who stopped by purchased subscriptions to the *Militant* after reading the coverage on the killing of abortion provider Dr. George Tiller and the mobilizations in response defending abortion rights.

The book fair is one of the main cultural events in Sweden, attracting about 100,000 visitors every year. While many stopped and looked at the books and pamphlets in the Pathfinder booth, it was young visitors who left with a book or a subscription to the *Militant*.

—DAG TIRSÉN

France for bundling into fuel assemblies to be used for medical purposes. The *Times* cited “Western officials” saying the amount of uranium to be sent to Russia “could be as much as 75 percent of Iran’s declared nuclear stockpile.”

The following day, however, Iran’s chief negotiator Saeed Jalili held a news conference in Iran to deny that such an

agreement was made during the talks in Geneva, the Iranian Students News Agency reported. He said Iranian negotiators had conveyed their request to buy enriched uranium but that “there was no discussion over Iran’s suspension of enrichment.”

French foreign minister Bernard Kouchner dumped cold water on Iran’s announcement that it would allow inspection of the new enrichment facility. “We are ready to no longer speak about sanctions, but we need to discuss what we call the heart of the matter, that is to say: is this uranium enrichment dangerous or not?” Kouchner told RTL radio and LCI television.

Asked whether Iran might be pursuing nuclear weapons, Kouchner said, “Everything leads us to think that they were at least tempted to do this and we are trying to put an end to this.”

# New book on Black struggle with subscription

## ‘Militant’ Subscription Drive

Sept. 12 – Nov. 10, 2009			
Week 3			
Country	Quota	Sold	%
UNITED STATES			
Twin Cities, MN*	145	68	47%
Miami	110	43	39%
Seattle*	95	37	39%
Newark, NJ	75	29	39%
Chicago*	115	42	37%
New York	230	81	35%
Los Angeles*	105	37	35%
Philadelphia	75	26	35%
Boston*	65	21	32%
Washington, D.C.	100	31	31%
San Francisco	150	46	31%
Des Moines, IA	110	23	21%
Atlanta	130	24	18%
Houston	90	14	16%
Other		3	
TOTAL	1595	525	33%
UNITED KINGDOM			
London*	80	37	46%
Edinburgh	35	13	37%
TOTAL	115	50	43%
Canada	100	31	31%
New Zealand	65	15	23%
Australia	50	17	34%
Sweden	25	20	80%
Total	1950	658	33%
Should Be	2000	750	38%

\*increased quota

### Continued from front page

Rockford, Illinois, protesting the police killing of a young Black man purchased subscriptions from Chicago-area distributors.

Eight people purchased subscriptions from supporters of the *Militant* in Minneapolis who went door to door in Albert Lea, a city where many meatpacking workers live and where a number of workers have recently been fired because the U.S. government or packinghouse bosses claim they don’t have proper papers to work. Five subscriptions were sold the previous week going door to door in Austin, also a city with a concentration of meatpacking workers.

Miami-area distributors report that four subscriptions were sold in Immokalee, Florida, to current and former farm workers.

**Help sell  
the *Militant***

See list of  
distributors in your  
area on page 6

## Letter from Tehran

October 5, 2009

To the editor,

I recently received the enclosed letter from a friend in Tehran. I thought it would be of interest to readers of the *Militant*.

Safar Hadad  
New York, New York

Tehran

September 21, 2009

Dear Safar,

I just saw one of the most beautiful scenes in my life, something that gave me such pride and joy that I thought I must share it with others.

I was passing the bookstores along the road in front of Tehran University when I saw a big window filled with two large, tall shelves of Pathfinder books. For a second, it made me wonder whether I was in

Tehran or in front of a Pathfinder bookstore in London, New York, or elsewhere. Although I have not seen something like it even at Pathfinder bookstores.

Pictures of Malcolm X and Mandela and Castro and . . . it all hits you in the face with a magnitude that is indescribable.

I immediately went around to the front of the store (I was looking at the window on the west side) to see the name of the bookstore: It is Academy. This is a big step forward for introducing revolutionary literature to the eager youth who pass by in the tens of thousands every day. One can say with determination that now the truth is available to them in print.

Congratulations,  
Kamal Moshtag

# Turkish gov't eases some repressive anti-Kurd laws

BY DOUG NELSON

For the first time a university in Turkey will teach Kurdish, the language of the oppressed Kurdish nationality, previously banned in the country. About half of the region's roughly 25 million Kurds live in Turkey, with sizable populations in northern Iraq, western Iran, and northeast Syria.

Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party has recently loosened some restrictions on Kurdish culture with the aim of establishing some stability in the Kurdish region and ending a 25-year conflict with Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) guerrillas fighting for autonomy. The steps are also aimed at strengthening Turkey's bid to enter the European Union.

The Kurdish classes will be taught to graduate students at the Mardin Artuklu University as part of a "Living Languages in Turkey" institute, along with Farsi, Arabic, and Syriac. The university is located in the predominantly Kurdish southeast.

Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan said a few words in Kurdish at the launching of the first state-run Kurdish TV channel in January, an unheard of act not too long ago. The Turkish broadcasting authority has also taken steps to allow Kurdish advertising on state TV and to ease restrictions on hours and content of Kurdish programming on private stations.

A series of government proposals to ease repressive measures against the Kurds are scheduled to be presented to parliament in October.

The plans include steps to increase economic development and local administrative authority in the less-developed Kurdish areas, the return of the original Kurdish names of districts

and streets, and permitting Kurds to give their children Kurdish names. Kurdish translations in public offices and street signs and allowing the use of Kurdish in political settings are additional measures under discussion.

## Phasing out village guards

As part of its bid for European Union status, the government's Supreme Board to Combat Terrorism announced September 23 it will begin phasing out the "village guard" system established for the Kurdish areas in 1985. About 80,000 village guards are armed and paid by the government to spy and snitch on fellow Kurds and combat PKK guerrillas. The decision comes following a well-publicized wedding massacre of 44 Kurds by village guards in March.

Part of the plan is also aimed at encouraging defection of PKK members. The country's Penitence Law pardons guerrillas who turn themselves in and can convince authorities they had never taken part in any military actions. An estimated 40,000 people have been killed in the war between the government and the PKK since it began in 1984.

The Turkish army, which wields considerable power in the country, has come out in support of the government's "democratic opening," but has made clear the military will actively oppose any moves that push beyond what it has described as "red lines."

"Turkey is a single undivided state . . . its language is Turkish," Chief of General Staff Gen. Ilker Basbug said August 25. The general said the army will continue its drive against the PKK and ruled out negotiating or "forging contacts" with the group.

The PKK recently extended its cease-fire and called on the government to involve its jailed leader, Abdullah Ocalan, in negotiations. Ocalan told his attorneys that he handed over his "road map" on the Kurdish question to the government in late August. The government has so far refused to release it.



Kurds holding Democratic Society Party flags take part in Newroz (New Year) celebrations in Istanbul, Turkey, in March 2008.

"We are in favor of a unified and unitary Turkey, but we are saying that this forced alliance should be turned into a willing and voluntary one," Murat Karayilan, president of the executive council of the Kurdistan Democratic Federation, an alliance of PKK and other outlawed Kurdish groups, said in early September.

The Democratic Society Party (DTP), a major Kurdish party in Turkey, has urged the government to negotiate with the PKK through intermediaries.

## Repression of language

The Kurdish language was completely banned in Turkey between September 1980 and April 1991. It remained illegal in official settings including in political speeches, rallies, schools, prisons, and broadcasts. In 2001 the total ban on broadcasts was lifted.

In 1991 Leyla Zana, the first Kurdish woman to become a member of parliament, created a major contro-

versy when she uttered the last sentence of her inauguration speech in Kurdish. The act was considered treasonous at the time, but she was protected by parliamentary immunity. A few years later, parliament voted to outlaw her party. Zana along with three other deputies were arrested for alleged links to the PKK. She was released after 10 years as Ankara sought membership in the EU.

In June charges were dismissed against three Kurdish mayors for speaking Kurdish at an election rally. The DTP mayor of the Sur district in the Kurdish district of Diyarbakir was earlier removed from his post for distributing pamphlets in Kurdish and other languages. He was reelected mayor in March. Also in Sur a 10-year-old girl is under investigation for teaching Kurdish out of her home.

In late August two Kurdish newspapers had their publication suspended for one month each for publishing articles deemed to be supportive of the PKK.

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## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



October 19, 1984

SALINAS, California—Under a sea of red and black United Farm Workers (UFW) flags, thousands of farm workers from the Salinas, San Joaquin, and Napa valleys marched defiantly through Salinas October 7. They marched to protest the growing, deep-going onslaught of attacks against the union by the agricultural employers.

Supporters lined the streets, and cars drove by with flags emblazoned with the United Farm Worker Aztec eagle, as the 6,500 unionists—in their overwhelming majority Mexican workers—marched six miles through the heart of the barrios.

This action took place as the growers are on a fierce offensive against the UFW. The stakes are high. Recently 14 United Farm Workers contracts have expired, and the growers have organized a frontal assault to break the union.



October 19, 1959

The Eisenhower administration has promised to give earnest study to the Soviet disarmament proposal, and it can be counted on to do so without fail. Meantime, it goes right ahead preparing for war.

Thus negotiations have just been completed with Turkey for the construction of a U.S. intermediate-range ballistic missile base to be equipped with nuclear warheads.

According to a report by Jack Raymond from Washington in the October 11 New York Times, rockets with a range of 1,500 miles will threaten all European parts of the Soviet Union and Soviet Central Asia.

The Soviet government has proposed that an early step in disarming should be U.S. dismantling of its 950 bases abroad that ring the Soviet-zone countries.



October 20, 1934

The general strike and the armed insurrection that swept over Spain during the past two weeks as a mass protest movement against the entrance of three Fascist ministries of the Popular Action party, and which in some sections took on the character of an armed struggle for power on the part of the workers, is now virtually over.

In a few localities, however, especially in the mountainous regions of Asturias where the miners have fortified a number of villages and mining camps, the workers are still holding their own valiantly against the armed forces of the reaction. The death list in the province of Asturias now runs into many hundreds while the casualties nationally range in the thousands.

Many of the leaders of the revolt have undergone military trials and a number of death sentences have been decreed.

# Marxism and the fight for women's emancipation

Below is an excerpt from *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* by Mary-Alice Waters, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for October. The booklet explains how winning the liberation of women is inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class to transform all economic and social relations through the fight to overthrow capitalist rule. It draws on the lessons of the revolutionary workers movement over more than 150 years in championing women's struggle for emancipation. Copyright © 1972 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

From the inception of the Marxist movement to today, for nearly 125 years, revolutionary Marxists have waged an unrelenting struggle within the broad working-class movement in order to establish a revolutionary attitude toward the struggle for women's liberation. They have fought to place it on a sound historical and materialist basis; and to educate the entire vanguard of the working class to an understanding of the significance of the struggles by women for full equality and for liberation from the centuries-old degradation of domestic slavery.

This battle has always been one of the



Militant/Diana Newberry

Protesters defend abortion rights in San Francisco, January 2005. Marxism provided a scientific materialist foundation not only for socialism but also for women's liberation, wrote Waters.

dividing lines between revolutionary and reformist currents within the working-class movement; between those committed to a class-struggle perspective and those following a line of class collaboration. Women's oppression and how to struggle against it has been an issue at every turning point in the history of the revolutionary movement. Our ideological and political forebears, the revolutionary Marxists, both male and female, have led the fight against all those who refused to inscribe women's liberation on the banner of socialism, or who supported it in words but refused to fight for it in practice.

This is very important. Our opponents often try to saddle us with responsibility for the positions taken, not by the revolutionaries within the working-class movement, but by the reformists—by the right wing of the pre-World War I American Socialist Party, by the Stalinists, or else by the sectarians and ultra-lefts who refused to recognize the complexity of the class struggle or the need to fight for democratic rights. But those tendencies do not represent *our* tradition. It is precisely against such forces that revolutionary Marxists have battled over the decades.

The first dividing line came as early as the founding of the Marxist movement itself. The *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 boldly proclaimed:

“On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. . . . The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

“He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.”

The line of division established here and in all the subsequent writings of Marx and Engels on this subject was that between utopian and scientific socialism. The pre-Marxian utopian socialists—such as Fourier and Owen—were also fervent champions of the emancipation of women. But their socialism, as well as their theories on the family and women, rested on moral principles and abstract desires—not on an understanding of the laws of history and the class struggle rooted in the growth of humanity's productive capacities. Marxism for the first time provided a scientific materialist foundation, not only for socialism but also for women's liberation. It laid bare the roots of women's oppression, its relationship to a system of production based on private property and a society divided between a class that owned

the wealth and a class that produced it. Marxism explained the *role* of the family within class society, and the *function* of the family in perpetuating the oppression of women.

More than that, Marxism pointed out the road to achieving women's liberation. It explained how the abolition of private property would provide a material basis for transferring to society as a whole all those onerous social responsibilities today borne by the individual family—the care of the old and sick; the feeding, clothing, and educating of the young. Relieved of these burdens, Marx pointed out, the masses of women would be able to break the bonds of domestic servitude, they would be able to exercise their full capacities as creative and productive—not just reproductive—members of society. Freed from the economic compulsion on which it necessarily rests, the bourgeois family would disappear. Human relationships themselves would be transformed into free relations of free people.

And finally, Marxism took socialism and women's liberation out of the sphere of utopian yearning by proving that capitalism itself produces a force—the working class—strong enough to destroy it, capable of carrying through the momentous task of abolishing the tyranny of the possessing few over the overwhelming majority of humankind. For the first time, socialists could stop wishing for the new and better society and begin to organize to bring it about.

The struggle for women's liberation was thus lifted out of the realm of the personal, the “impossible dream,” and unbreakably linked to the victory of the progressive forces of our epoch. It became a social task in the interests of all humanity. Thus, Marxism provided a materialist analysis and a scientific perspective for women's liberation.

Those women like Juliet Mitchell who charge that Marxism does not have an adequate place in its theory for women are being dishonest. It is not the degree of adequacy in Marxism's theory that they really question. They fundamentally disagree with its materialist analysis of women's oppression and all that flows from it, including the need for a revolutionary Marxist party to lead the working class and its allies to power.

October

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6 The Militant October 19, 2009

# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and Road to Workers Power

Reprinted below is the introduction to the book Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power by Jack Barnes, which Pathfinder Press will release in November (see prepublication offer on this page). Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

The photos in the feature spread on pages 10, 11, and 14 are taken from the nearly 80 pages of pictures that illustrate the new book, whose table of contents appears on page 9.

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BY JACK BARNES

This is a book about the dictatorship of capital and the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A book about the last century and a half of class struggle in the United States—from the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction to today—and the unimpeachable evidence it offers that workers who are Black will

## INTRODUCTION TO FORTHCOMING BOOK

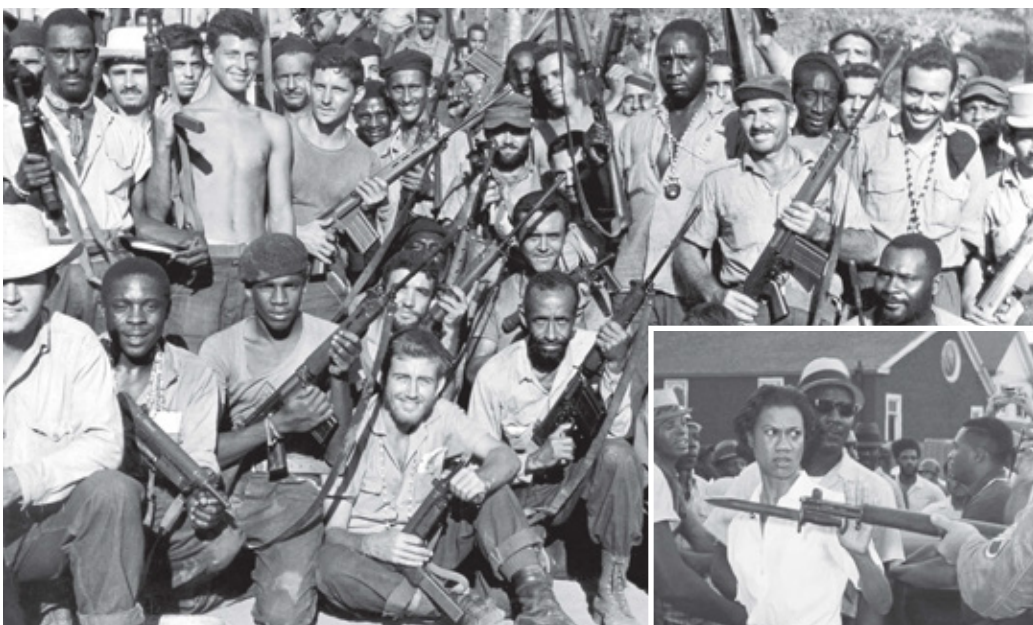
comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution.

It is a book about why this revolutionary conquest of state power by a politically class-conscious and organized vanguard of the working class—millions strong—is necessary. About why that new state power provides working people the mightiest weapon possible to wage the ongoing battle to end Black oppression and every form of exploitation and human degradation inherited from millennia of class-divided society. And how participation in that struggle itself changes them to the point they are politically capable of carrying that battle through to the end.

This is a book about the last year of Malcolm X's life. About how he became the face and the authentic voice of the forces of the coming American revolution.



"Dictatorship of capital? Dictatorship of the proletariat? What do these terms have to do with our world today?" That's the refrain working people in the United States and most of the rest of the world hear over and over again in schools and daily papers, and from TV and radio "commentators." Above all, we hear it voiced



Above, Bohemia. Right, Fred Ward/Black Star

"In the past half century," Jack Barnes notes, "two developments have transformed revolutionary prospects for working people in the United States. One is the conquest of power by the workers and farmers of Cuba. The other is the rise of the Black liberation struggle, whose outstanding leader was Malcolm X." **Above**, Cuban militia members celebrate victory over U.S.-organized invasion at Bay of Pigs, April 1961. **Right**, Gloria Richardson led 1962–64 campaign of Black community in Cambridge, Maryland, refusing to urge nonviolence in face of racist thugs or call off protests despite National Guard's occupation of the city.



by every middle-class political current—"socialist," "green," or whatever—claiming to speak and act in the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

Above the din, the answer remains: It's *not* "our" world. And which class will rule is the question that ultimately matters for toilers everywhere—now more than ever.

ests is increasingly evident. As is the fact that they do so, and will continue to do so, regardless of the toll on many hundreds of millions the world over, the vast majority of humanity.

Since early 2008, banks and financial institutions such as Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, Merrill Lynch, AIG, Citigroup, General Electric, General Motors (yes, GE

**"This is a book about the dictatorship of capital and the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. A book about the class struggle in the U.S., and the evidence that workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of those who will make a proletarian revolution. . ."**

The depression and social crisis that have deepened and spread worldwide over the last year have torn yet another veil from the face of capitalism, from the consequences of bourgeois rule for working people. The fact that the ruling families of the United States and other capitalist countries *dictate*, and will continue to dictate, the use of whatever degree of state power is necessary to defend and advance their own class inter-

and GM!), and scores of others have been deemed "too big to fail" by the ruling-class families and their government. Literally trillions of dollars in federal outlays and "guarantees" have been marshaled—conjured from their printing presses outright, in fact—in order to save these bastions of finance capital, or more accurately, to save their major *bondholders*, which is another way of describing the U.S. ruling class. They are determined to ensure that *their* enormous accumulation of interest-bearing wealth, produced by working people over centuries, remains secure.

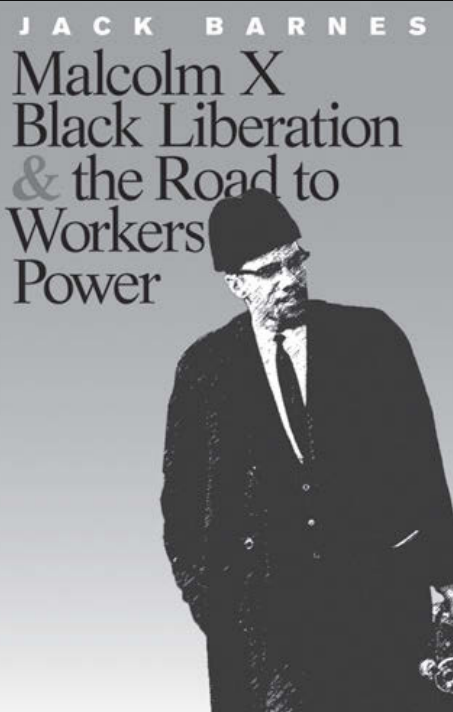
Top partners and executives of Goldman Sachs, Citigroup, JPMorgan Chase, and other Wall Street houses are cycled back and forth to policy-making posts at the Treasury Department, Federal Reserve, and other government and quasi-government agencies (with a university stint sometimes wedged in between), like cards dealt by a mechanic at a poker table. The faces "managing" the financial crisis under the recent Republican White House resurface in the current Democratic administration, with or without new hats, and often with résumés stretching back to previous presidencies under both capitalist parties.

Those *not* "too big to fail" under the rule of capital are obvious as well. They include the rapidly expanding millions of workers being thrown out of jobs due to plant shutdowns, "cost-cutting" layoffs, "furloughs," "no-match" letters, deportations, and farm foreclosures. They include shuttered mom-and-pop stores from the largest cities to the smallest towns. They include employed working people whose wages, which already buy less than they did forty years ago, have fallen even more sharply the last twelve months. They include those, insured and uninsured, forced into bankruptcy

Continued on page 8

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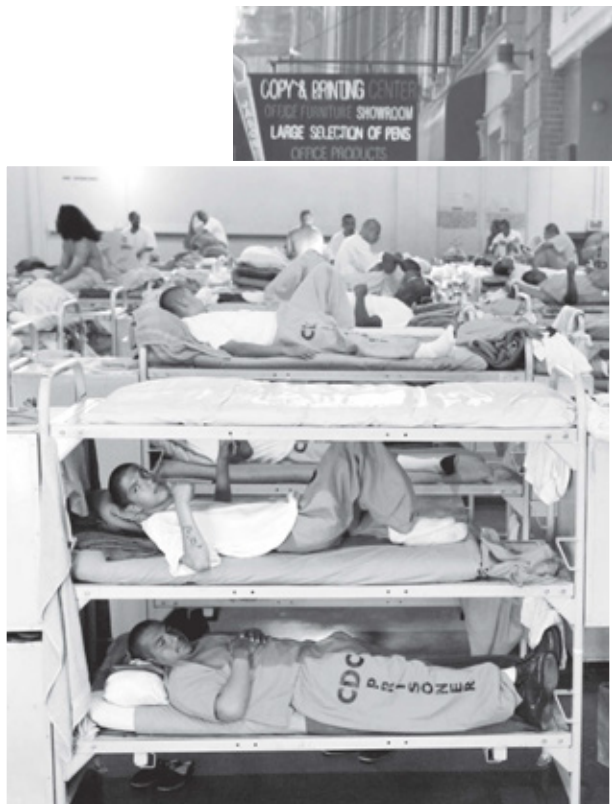
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# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power



The worldwide depression and social crisis have torn another veil from the face of capitalist rule—from fact that the ruling families in the U.S. and other countries dictate the use of state power to defend their interests, regardless of toll on the vast majority of humanity. **Above**, workers line up seeking jobs in New York, June 2008. **Left**, prisoners crowded into California State Prison in Los Angeles, 2006. “The U.S. state is the largest repressive apparatus in world history,” Barnes writes, “with the highest incarceration rate of any country on earth.”

## Continued from page 7

by catastrophic medical expenses. They include those evicted from houses as a result of mounting bank foreclosures, as well as millions more forced from apartments on which they are no longer able to pay rent. These “new homeless,” as they’re called in the bourgeois media, are hidden from view, as they more and more often find themselves and their families packed together with others in a single residence.

“We serve and protect”—that promise is displayed on squad cars across the United States from which cops harass and brutalize workers day in and day out, disproportionately singling out African-Americans, Latinos, and immigrants as targets. For working people, those words will always be a contemptible lie. But for the ruling class and privileged middle layers, they are a truthful summary of the function of the U.S. state apparatus—the armed forces; the multitude of local, state, federal, and military cop and spy agencies; the courts, bail-bond sharks, and probation and parole officers; the over-stuffed jails and prisons, with their evermore frequent, dehumanizing lockdowns and gang-controlled life, organized by those who run the “penal system” and overseen by thuggish prison guards (a true microcosm of bourgeois social relations). The U.S. state is the largest repressive apparatus in world history, with the highest—and increasing—incarceration rate of any country on earth.

These institutions of class rule, of bourgeois “law

and order,” *do* brutally serve and protect the property, profits, and assumed prerogatives of the U.S. capitalist class—from the streets, factories, fields, mines, border crossings, and prisons across the United States, to Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and beyond.

Working people can and will wrest concessions from the ruling class in the course of sharpening struggles

**“The armed forces, the cop and spy agencies, the courts, the over-stuffed jails and prisons—these institutions of class rule serve and protect the property, profits, and prerogatives of the U.S. capitalist class . . .”**

against the crisis-fueled assaults on our jobs, living conditions, and elementary human dignity, on our political liberties and right to unionize, and against the march toward increased military spending and bloodier wars abroad. But these concessions cannot alter the laws underlying the operations of the capitalist system itself or forestall its further devastation of our lives and livelihoods. They cannot end the dictatorship of capital.

Only the conquest, and exercise, of state power by the working class and expropriation of finance capital can lay the foundations for a world based not on exploitation, violence, racial discrimination, class-based pecking orders, and dog-eat-dog competition, but on solidarity among working people that encourages the creativity and recognition of the worth of every individual, regardless of sex, national origin, or skin color.

A socialist world.



Over the past half century, two developments above all have transformed revolutionary prospects for working people in the United States. They have had a deep impact on the capacity and effectiveness, the proletarian character, of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

One is the conquest of power in 1959 by the workers and farmers of Cuba. That triumph not only opened the road to socialist revolution in the Americas. It marked a renewal in action of the proletarian internationalist course first pointed to by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels more than a century earlier and then carried out in life by workers and peasants in Russia in 1917 under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

The other is the post-World War II rise of the popular struggle for Black liberation in the United States, from which Malcolm X, its outstanding single leader,

emerged. Even in the early 1960s, while Malcolm was still the best-known spokesman for the Nation of Islam, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party recognized in his words and deeds an uncompromising leader of unusual caliber. The Nation itself was a bourgeois-nationalist, religious organization, as it remains today. As Malcolm pointed out after his public break from the Nation in March 1964, it “didn’t take part in politics” and its hierarchy, led by Elijah Muhammad, was “motivated mainly by protecting its own self-interests.”

But Malcolm’s voice was increasingly that of a revolutionary leader of the working class. And during the last year of his life, the political clarity of his words advanced with blinding speed.

In January 1965, less than a year after his split from the Nation, Malcolm told a television interviewer, “I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice, and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation.

“I believe that there will be that kind of clash,” Malcolm said, “but I don’t think that it will be based upon the color of the skin, as Elijah Muhammad had taught it.”

Speaking on behalf of the Young Socialist Alliance to a March 1965 New York City memorial meeting a few weeks after Malcolm’s assassination, I pointed out how relentlessly Malcolm had pressed beyond his origins in the Nation of Islam to emerge in world politics as the outstanding “leader of the struggle for Black liberation” in the United States. “To his people he first and foremost belongs.” At the same time, to young people of all backgrounds attracted to the working class and proletarian politics, in this country and around the world, Malcolm X had become “the face and the authentic voice of the forces of the coming American socialist revolution. He spoke the truth to our generation of revolutionists. . . . Malcolm challenged American capitalism from right inside. He was living proof for our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here.”

Almost half a century later, I have nothing to change in that assessment, and I can still recognize the young socialist who made it. But I am aware that no one would ever recognize *this* Malcolm X, the living Malcolm we knew—the Malcolm who kept fighting and growing to the last day of his life—if their knowledge of his political course came solely from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* prepared by journalist Alex Haley, or from the 1992 movie *Malcolm X* directed by Spike Lee. Together those are the main sources of “information” about Malcolm today, having been read or viewed, in multiple languages, by literally tens of millions the world over. Both, however, freeze Malcolm’s *political* trajectory in April 1964 when he made the hajj to Mecca, only a month after his public break with the Nation of Islam. Everything after that pilgrimage gets short shrift in both autobiography and film. But Malcolm’s experiences and the political conclusions he drew didn’t stop there. In fact, he had barely begun.

This misrepresentation of Malcolm X is also what readers discover in *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*, the 1995 memoir by Barack Obama, today the president of the United States. Writing in preparation for launching his electoral career with a race the next year for a seat in the Illinois State Senate, he said that as a teenager he had looked for guidance to works by a number of well-known authors who were Black, including James Baldwin, W.E.B. Du Bois, Ralph Ellison, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright. And each of them, in different ways, ended up “in the same weary flight, all of them exhausted, bitter men, the devil at their heels.” (In all but the first of these cases, the devil was Stalinism. But that has always been finessed by Hyde Park politicians and their progressive supporters or editors.)

Only the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* initially “seemed to offer something different,” a future U.S. president said. Yet even that turned out to be a pipe dream, he concludes. “If Malcolm’s discovery toward the end of his life, that some whites might live beside



U.S. Army/Sgt. Brandon Aird  
U.S. helicopters airlift tanks from base in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, December 2007. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has been responsible for the slaughter and maiming of millions of workers and peasants, from Vietnam to Iraq and Afghanistan, from Korea to Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, and Yugoslavia.

# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

him as brothers in Islam, seemed to offer some hope of eventual reconciliation, that hope appeared in a distant future, in a far-off land.”

If that indeed summed up Malcolm’s legacy and example, then, yes, it *would be* a hope for “a distant future, in a far-off land.”

But had this aspiring officeholder even bothered to read any of Malcolm’s words from the last ten months of his life? At least eight books and pamphlets of Malcolm’s speeches and writings were in print in English by that time (as well as one in Spanish), containing some sixty talks, interviews, and letters from those final months. Yet for those of many political persuasions, it’s advantageous to act as if that record of Malcolm’s emerging revolutionary convictions simply doesn’t exist. As if those words were never spoken. As if Malcolm did not die because of them.



In June 2009, almost fifteen years after sending his story of race to press, Barack Obama spoke on a related theme in quite a different capacity, as chief executive and commander-in-chief of the world’s dominant imperialist power. During a state visit to Saudi Arabia and Egypt, he addressed students and others at Cairo University, giving voice to the self-serving legends of the upper middle-class layers of all skin colors in the United States from which he ascended to the White House. Legends Malcolm spent his political lifetime exposing and inoculating against, as he fought to awaken African-Americans and others for whom he spoke not to their oppression but to their own self-worth.

“For centuries,” the new president said in Cairo,

Atlantic “middle passage”?

Without the rebellions led by Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and hundreds of others, which had to be drowned in blood by the slaveholders and their government in order to be put down?

Without the hundreds of armed Underground Railroad “conductors” like Harriet Tubman?

Without the U.S. Civil War with the greatest loss of life of any war in U.S. history, a revolutionary war that by 1865 had enlisted some 200,000 Black troops in the Union cause?

Without the might of the Union Army as well as local militias standing behind the policies of post-Civil War state governments of Radical Reconstruction across the South—until 1877 when the ascendant U.S. bourgeoisie betrayed the Second American Revolution and withdrew the army, leading to the bloody crushing of those popular regimes?

Was Jim Crow segregation across the U.S. South imposed without violence? Was it brought down by love and forgiveness? Or was the mass, proletarian-led movement for Black rights in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s made possible only by the po-



“Malcolm’s voice was increasingly that of a revolutionary leader of the working class. And during the last year of his life, the political clarity of his words advanced with blinding speed.” **Above**, Malcolm X speaks at Barnard College, New York, Feb. 18, 1965.

**“I believe there will be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing, between those who want freedom, justice, and equality and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. But I don’t think it will be based upon the color of the skin, as Elijah Muhammad had taught it. . .”**

**—Malcolm X, January 1965**

“black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America’s founding.”

Was the institutionalized violence of the slave trade and chattel servitude ended, in the words of the U.S. president, by “peaceful and determined insistence”? Didn’t the “ideals at the center of America’s founding” enshrine chattel slavery in the constitution of the republic itself?

Was the “peculiar institution” ended without slave ship mutinies and fearless acts of individual and collective defiance by Africans during the notorious cross-

litical and physical discipline and courage of millions (including within the imperialist armed forces), *and* by the determination of a conscious vanguard to organize to defend their communities against night-riding terror, by any means necessary?

Didn’t the 1960s urban rebellions by workers who are Black in Harlem, Watts, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, and other U.S. cities put the ruling class on notice that millions among this oppressed and superexploited section of the working class would not be satisfied simply by laws once again formally recognizing the “full and equal rights” cited by the U.S. president in Cairo? Weren’t the militants and martyrs of the Attica rebellion and other prison uprisings using the only means

left to them to bring to the world’s attention the horrors of America’s penitentiaries? Hasn’t capitalism’s institutionalized racist brutality and class inequality long outlasted the conquests registered by the Black rights struggle of the mid-twentieth century?

Didn’t a broad vanguard of African-Americans see their struggles as an integral part of the victorious post-World War II national liberation movements that swept across Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, and act accordingly? Didn’t all this push back racism, raise self-confidence among African-Americans, and lay the basis for greater unity in struggle by workers who are Black, white, and of other racial or national backgrounds?

The historical record gives ample evidence that even the most “democratic” bourgeois state is at bottom a massive and all-pervasive apparatus of violence, dedicated to preserving capitalist rule. Since the end of World War II alone, U.S. imperialism’s troops, special forces, “intelligence” operatives, paid mercenaries, and weapons (“hi-tech” and low) have been responsible for the slaughter and maiming of millions of workers and peasants, from Vietnam to Iraq and Afghanistan, from Iran and Korea to Cuba, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, from Guatemala to Angola and Yugoslavia.

**Continued on page 12**



Militant

Malcolm X “spoke the truth to our generation of revolutionists.” He was “the face and authentic voice of the forces of the coming American socialist revolution,” said Jack Barnes, then national chairman of Young Socialist Alliance, at memorial meeting for Malcolm X in New York, March 5, 1965.

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# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

*Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* contains four photo inserts, totaling 56 pages. Together with an additional 20 pages of illustrations spread throughout the chapters, these photos and drawings, quotations and explanatory captions, bring alive central political points in the four sections of the book

(see table of contents on page 9). On these two pages, as well as the back page of this special supplement, the *Militant* is presenting a selection of some of the more than 130 photos and drawings. A number of other photos from the book illustrate the introduction by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes.



AP/Wide World

“I want to make the case that Malcolm X was a revolutionary leader of the working class in the United States,” says Jack Barnes. **Above**, Malcolm speaks to 300 youth, Selma, Alabama, Feb. 4, 1965, where voting rights militants faced cop attacks and racist violence. “Broaden your scope,” he encouraged the youth. Seek to “understand the problems of the world and where you fit in.” Pointing to cowardice of racists as shown by sheets they often wore, Malcolm said, “The time will come when that sheet will be ripped off. If the federal government doesn’t take it off, we’ll take it off.”



AP/Wide World

**Above**, at July 1964 New York “summit,” Martin Luther King (fourth from right) and other civil rights leaders called halt to Black rights protests until after November election. “They’ve sold out and become campaign managers” for Democrat Lyndon Johnson, said Malcolm X. Socialist Workers Party and Malcolm X were only voices in working-class movement refusing to back Johnson over Republican Barry Goldwater as “lesser evil.” **Left**, SWP’s 1964 presidential candidate Clifton DeBerry.

**THE MILITANT**  
**Socialist Nominee Blasts Johnson for Not Stopping St. Augustine Klansmen**

By Alex Harte  
NEW YORK, June 16 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, today scored President Johnson “for failure to use the powers of his office to halt police and Klan violence against Negro demonstrators in St. Augustine, Florida.”  
“Johnson hasn’t even spoken out against the terror being employed against non-violent demonstrators for fear of offending the Southern racist wing of his own Democratic Party,” DeBerry charged.  
Under the direction of Rev. Martin Luther King’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Negroes in St. Augustine have been demonstrating for integration of hotels, motels, and restaurants, and for jobs. “Johnson’s failure to act demonstrates that his claimed devotion to civil rights is so much hot air, because he has refused to



Clifton DeBerry

police and Klan and to guarantee the rights of Negroes.”  
Police, much encouraged by the police, and Klansmen reacted in a “swift” manner, “using rifles, clubs, bricks, stones and arms against Negro demonstrators.”  
The SCLC began its St. Augustine project in the last week of May with an economic boycott. The SCLC drive was countered by a South-wide mobilization of the Ku Klux Klan.  
Persons accused of bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, have been seen around the city. Klansmen roamed the city in cars equipped with radios. Police with dogs halted an attempt by more than 175 Negroes to march into downtown St. Augustine on the night of May 23.  
Then sporadic shootings began to occur against integrationist workers and Negroes, Negroes, and

“This is a book about why the revolutionary conquest of state power by a politically class-conscious and organized vanguard of the working class—millions strong—is necessary. About why that new state power provides working people the mightiest weapon possible to wage the ongoing battle to end Black oppression and every form of exploitation and human degradation. . .”  
—Jack Barnes, introduction



Raúl Corrales

“The Cuban Revolution—that’s a revolution. They overturned the system,” said Malcolm X in November 1963. For five decades, workers and farmers of Cuba have held, defended, and *used* state power to advance interests of oppressed and exploited worldwide. **Above**, Havana bus drivers, training with wood substitutes for rifles, mobilize in response to strafing of city by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries and call for arms to defend revolution, October 1959.



SEIU

Malcolm speaks at July 1962 rally in New York by hospital workers for union recognition. Refusal of Nation of Islam leadership to “involve itself in the civil or political struggles our people confronted was reason they ‘put me out,’” said Malcolm, after break with group. “Wherever Muslims got involved in action, it was action I was involved in, because I believed in action.”



Not until 1967 did U.S. Supreme Court strike down laws barring interracial marriage, after fight by Mildred and Richard Loving (**left**) to overturn conviction in Virginia. “I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being—neither white, black, brown, nor red,” said Malcolm X in 1965, having come to reject Nation of Islam’s opposition to intermarriage. “When you are dealing with humanity as a family, there’s no question of integration or intermarriage. It’s just one human being marrying another human being.”



Militant/Pat Wright

“One thing I noticed in the Middle East and Africa, in every country that was progressive, the women were progressive. In every country that was backward, women were kept back,” Malcolm said. **Above**, women soldiers in Burkina Faso, West Africa, August 1985, during popular revolution led by Thomas Sankara.

# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

“The U.S. rulers try to hide the history of Radical Reconstruction, like they do the history of labor battles. The truth explodes every racist and anti-working-class notion about the potential of a fighting alliance between toilers who are Black and white. . .”

—Jack Barnes



“The exploited producers, led by formerly enslaved Blacks and backed by Union troops,” says Barnes, “took strides toward establishing popular democratic governments” that, among other widely supported measures, barred race discrimination, set up free public schools, and expanded rights for women. **Above**, Blacks learn to read at Vicksburg, Mississippi, public school open to all ages and sexes.



New York Public Library (Above)

“By 1870 the fight to get the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution had been won,” says Barnes. “Blacks and other toilers during Reconstruction breathed life into these hard-won rights to emancipation, citizenship, and suffrage.” **Above**, recently enfranchised Blacks in rural Georgia ford creek on way to polls, rifles in hand, to ensure they can exercise the right to vote.



Workers in Maryland battle state troops, July 1877, as rail workers’ struggle became first nationwide strike in U.S. history. In aftermath of Civil War, wrote Farrell Dobbs, capitalists “rightly feared the rise of a united working class in which Black and white artisans and industrial workers would come together, allied with free working farmers.” But U.S. bourgeoisie’s betrayal—withdrawal of Federal troops from South in 1877—condemned Reconstruction governments to bloody defeat by reactionary forces. “Not only Afro-Americans but the entire working class suffered what remains the worst setback in our history,” said Dobbs.



Age Fotostock

Literacy class in Soviet Caucasus, 1920s. “Even before the First World War and Russian Revolution,” wrote Cannon, “Lenin and the Bolsheviks were distinguished in the international socialist movement by concern with problems of oppressed nations.” New Soviet government recognized right to self-determination by peoples oppressed in old tsarist empire.



Union rally in Chicago, 1919, for organizing drive by Chicago packinghouse workers, uniting Blacks and Polish immigrants. With millions of GIs back from war, vying for hard-to-come-by jobs, anti-Black riots in Chicago (and 24 other cities) that year led to defeat of this and other unionization efforts.



**Left**, some of nearly 400,000 Black U.S. troops returning from Europe at end of World War I. Large-scale migration of African-Americans from rural South to northern industrial cities was accelerated by bosses’ wartime employment needs.

Schomburg Center/New York Public Library  
**Right**, July 1917 march called by NAACP in New York to protest racist pogrom in East St Louis, Illinois, as U.S. rulers entered war. “All men are created equal,” banner states, adding at bottom, “If of African descent, tear off this corner.” Blacks were required to tear off corner of draft registration cards to mark them for segregated U.S. army units.



# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

Continued from page 9

All the self-serving bourgeois homilies about the “ideals at the center of America’s founding” notwithstanding, history demonstrates hundreds of times over that it is not those who struggle against exploitation and oppression who are the source of violence in the world. It is the dictatorship of capital—merchant, industrial, banking, and, today, finance capital.

The determination and capacity of working people to effectively defend ourselves along the line of march toward a revolutionary struggle for power will decide whether there can be a peaceful and productive future for humankind.



Once Malcolm X had freed himself in early 1964 from the political fetters of the Nation of Islam, he faced the challenge confronting all small revolutionary organizations in the working class. How to join with others who don’t share your program and strategy in order to fight for common goals, for immediate demands, for space to do politics? How, as you engage in political work, as you untiringly propagandize, do you find those with whom your developing positions converge? How to keep advancing along a revolutionary course in less than revolutionary times, while never retreating into the comfortable, self-absorbed existence of a sect?

The Nation of Islam was not a political organization. It had no internal discussion and decision-making structure that enabled a leadership to determine a political course. The Nation functioned on the basis of “revelation” and decree. No fight to clarify political perspectives was possible. As a result, Malcolm—whose standing in the Nation had been second only to Elijah Muhammad, and in the true regard he enjoyed among its members second to none—brought few with him from the organization when the split came. While those who joined Malcolm were disciplined cadres, it was not yet a *political* discipline. It was a discipline still grounded in individual moral qualities, not in *political* convictions and habits forged, tempered, and internalized over time in the course of mass work and class-struggle action.

The task confronting Malcolm X during the final months of his life was to build a political cadre. He was starting from scratch. It would take time. And as Malcolm knew from the outset, *time* was something that forces in and around the Nation, as well as federal and local police agencies, here and abroad, were determined to deny him.



Malcolm put great store in meeting and collaborating with other revolutionaries, at home as well as around the world. He held in high esteem fighters

who at great sacrifice had done battle to overturn colonial regimes across Africa and Asia. He was particularly drawn to the revolutionary leadership of the secular government of Algeria, many of whom, as Malcolm pointed out, were “white,” and few of whom continued to practice the Islamic faith. Led by Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria’s workers and peasants government, unlike other newly independent nations in Africa and the Middle East, was organiz-

to do more. He wanted to share information with other revolutionaries about “contacts,” as he called them—individuals, especially young people, whom each of us had gotten to know in the course of political work here in the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere.

At the same time, Malcolm was neither naïve nor unknowledgeable about the sharply conflicting political courses of different organizations in the working-class movement calling themselves Marxists or communists, including, in the early and mid-1960s, the Communist Party USA, the Progressive Labor Party, and the Socialist Workers Party. In New York in particular, it was impossible to function in the Black movement at the time without knowing members and supporters of these parties. The Communist Party USA alone had had thousands of African-American members in Harlem as recently as the thirties and early forties.

Malcolm knew full well that the CPUSA and its sister organizations throughout the international Stalinist movement reviled him for his uncompromising opposition to the political course of leaders of civil rights organizations who sought *to reform* “the system of exploitation” in the United States and worldwide, rather than—as Malcolm, with increasing clarity, aimed to do—organize a revolutionary movement *to overturn* it.

Malcolm opposed *both* imperialist political parties in the United States. His refusal to call for a vote for incumbent Democrat Lyndon Johnson against



Left, Bettmann/Corbis; above, Militant

“The source of violence in today’s world is capitalism, not those who struggle against it.” **Above**, organizing to register to vote in Lowndes County, Alabama, 1966. Under Jim Crow segregation, Blacks had been prevented from voting there for at least 60 years. Lowndes County Freedom Organization ran campaign independent of Democratic Party and organized to defend its supporters. **Left**, at January 1966 rally, Charles Sims, a leader of Deacons for Defense in Bogalusa, Louisiana, warns Ku Klux Klan that days when Blacks won’t defend themselves are over.



ing working people to challenge not only the power and prerogatives of their former French colonizers, but of Algeria’s homegrown landlords and capitalists as well.

Malcolm was increasingly influenced by the internationalist example of the Cuban Revolution, too. He had expressed solidarity with and admiration of that revolution and its leadership since its opening years, demonstratively welcoming Fidel Castro and

**“Was the violence of the slave trade and chattel servitude ended by ‘peaceful and determined insistence’ as President Barack Obama claimed? Was Jim Crow segregation imposed without violence? Was it brought down by love and forgiveness? . . .”**

Ernesto Che Guevara to Harlem. “The Cuban Revolution—that’s a revolution. They overturned the system,” Malcolm told an overwhelmingly Black audience in Detroit in November 1963, in his last major talk as a Nation of Islam leader. But in 1964 and early 1965—as Malcolm saw more clearly the need to advance the “global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter”—his political attraction to the Cuban Revolution grew.

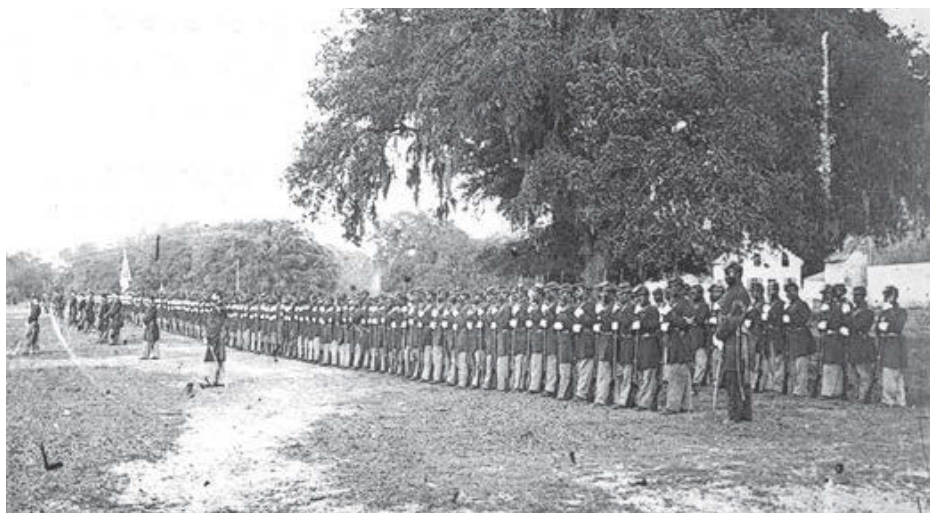
In January 1965, when Malcolm addressed a public meeting hosted by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in New York City, he opened his remarks by saying, “It’s the third time I’ve had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum. I always feel that it is an honor and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right here.” Malcolm was a man of his word. He meant “every time.”

Malcolm relished *doing* things together with fellow revolutionaries. Once there had been enough time and experience for mutual confidence to develop, Malcolm was eager to exchange hard-won lessons about *how*

Republican Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election—a position he held in common with the Socialist Workers Party and virtually no other organization in the workers movement in the United States—was particularly galling to Communist Party leaders. For some three decades, support to the Democratic Party and its candidates had been the lodestar of the CP’s class-collaborationist course in U.S. politics.

A few weeks after the November 1964 elections, Malcolm told participants in a rally in Paris, France, that “the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists” in the United States “had the whole world—including people who call themselves Marxists—hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater. . . . Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected—because he is supposed to be a man of peace,” Malcolm said. “And *at that moment* he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam!”

A few months later, in early February 1965, authorities at the Paris airport barred Malcolm from reentering France to participate in another gather-



First South Carolina Volunteers, Black regiment in the Union Army, listen to reading of Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1863. The Civil War became a revolutionary war to abolish slavery that by 1865 enlisted some 200,000 Black troops.

## WHERE TO FIND US

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# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

ing he had been invited to speak to there. Later that month, at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Harlem, Malcolm explained that even before the French government had denied him entry, the Communist Party there had made sure that the largest trade union federation in France not only refused to rent its meeting hall to organizers of the Paris event for Malcolm, but also “exercised its influence to prevent them from getting” another location they had attempted to secure.



“What the Bolshevik Revolution Taught Us,” the third section of this book, includes the transcripts of discussions in 1933 and 1939 on the Black liberation struggle in the United States with Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. Those discussions appear here under the title, “The National Question and the Road to the Proletarian Dictatorship in the United States”—an accurate summary of their content, as opposed to “Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination,” the title of the book in which the transcripts have been available since 1967.

In those discussions, Trotsky urged the Socialist Workers Party leadership to turn the party toward deeper and broader involvement in the struggle for Black freedom along the line of march of the revolutionary fight for power in the United States. The party “cannot postpone this extremely important question any longer,” Trotsky had written to SWP leader James P. Cannon in 1939 during Trotsky's



Militant photos by Naomi Craine (above), Joseph Hansen (right)  
**Book is product of political lessons from activity over decades by socialist workers and youth, says Barnes. Above, James Harris, SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles in 2009, speaks at protest against killing of Christian Portillo by county sheriffs. Right, New York, April 1967, 400,000 march against Vietnam War, demanding “Bring the GIs home now!”**

mid-1970s to build a party that is working class in composition as well as program and action. Who have been in the front ranks standing off racist thugs assaulting school buses, demonstrations, and picket lines. Who carry out communist political activity in the industrial working class and unions. Who join



cadres who have organized and participated in communist leadership schools, helping to educate themselves and others about the lessons of more than 150 years of revolutionary struggle by working people. By those who have run as Socialist Workers Party candidates for posts from local office to president of the United States, and have done so in opposition to nominees—whatever their skin color—of the Democratic, Republican, and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

By cadres who have never tired of getting in the face of race-baiters, red-baiters, and outright bigots and demagogues of every stripe who have sought to deny that workers, farmers, and young people who are Black—and *proud* to be Black—can and will become communists along the same road and on the same political basis as anyone else.

Working together with these comrades—through many crises and conjunctures, including the global capitalist panic still in its early stages today—has taught me much of what readers will discover in these pages. Putting these lessons down on paper is one of my obligations, and my name appears as author. But I could not have come to these conclusions in any other way than as part of a tested and disciplined proletarian cadre, including these men and women of African origin, who, in their lives and activity, remain true to their revolutionary convictions to this day.

It is to them that *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* is dedicated.

New York City  
October 4, 2009

**“This book could never have come into being without the leadership collaboration over nearly half a century of proletarian cadres of the Socialist Workers Party who are Black. . .”**

several days of discussions with party members.

Unless the SWP meets this political challenge, Trotsky said during those discussions, “our party cannot develop—it will degenerate. . . . It is a question of the vitality of the party. It is a question of whether the party is to be transformed into a sect or if it is capable of finding its way to the most oppressed part of the working class.”

This book is a commitment and a weapon in continuing to rise to that challenge today and tomorrow.



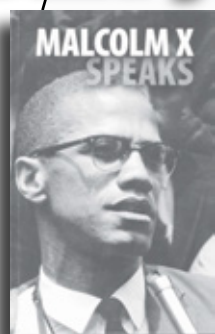
*Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* could never have come into being without the leadership collaboration over nearly half a century of proletarian cadres of the Socialist Workers Party who are Black.

The book is a product of the disciplined efforts of these and other SWP cadres, including the generations who have been leading the work since the

in strikes, union organizing drives, and shop-floor skirmishes small and large. Who have organized inside the imperialist armed forces against racism and denial of their rights as citizen soldiers. Who take to the streets with others to protest cop brutality, to demand legalization for immigrant workers, to say no to the death penalty, and to champion the right of women to choose abortion. Who have participated in the National Black Independent Political Party and other organizations seeking to advance Black rights along proletarian lines. Who work to educate about and mobilize opposition to the imperialist policies of the U.S. government and its never-ending march toward widening militarization and spreading wars.

What readers will find in these pages is the fruit of decades of political activity by communist workers and youth campaigning with the *Militant* news-weekly and other publications on street corners, at plant gates, to students, on strike picket lines, and at social protest actions and meetings. By proletarian

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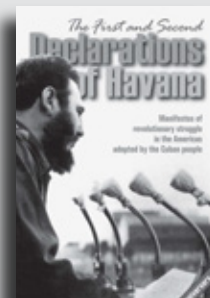
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# Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power



Experiences during World War II by Blacks in factory work, union struggles, and armed forces, even segregated units, “were the leavening that made possible the rise of the proletarian-led struggle for Black rights” in 1950s and 1960s, says Barnes. Above, 1942 Black rights rally in New York called by March on Washington Movement. Protesters denounced frame-up and legal lynching of Virginia sharecropper Odell Waller.



Militant/John Staggs

John Boyd, president of National Black Farmers Association, speaking at April 2009 rally in Washington, D.C., against discriminatory farm lending by U.S. Agriculture Department. Mule in front of podium recalls continuity of fights today with struggles for land reform by freed slaves during Reconstruction. “40 acres and a mule” became the battle cry. Current struggles, Barnes says, are “often a link in battles that go back more than a century and a quarter. For a Black family in the U.S. South to have held onto land means previous generations fought and survived lynch-mob terror of organized white supremacists.”

“Don’t start with Blacks as an oppressed nationality. Start with the vanguard place and weight of workers who are Black in broad, proletarian-led social and political struggles in the United States. From the Civil War to today, the historical record is startling. It should bowl you over when you first hear it. . .”

—Jack Barnes

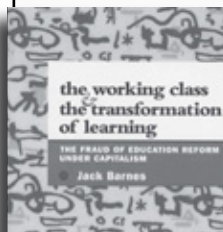


“Twice in the 20th century we’ve seen in practice how the Black proletariat had to ‘march over the petty bourgeoisie,’ white and Black, including the union officialdom, in order to advance the struggle against Jim Crow segregation and other institutions of racial discrimination,” says Barnes. **Right**, 1968 strike by sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee, became catalyst of final stage of struggle that consolidated the defeat of Jim Crow.



“Combating racism and national divisions in the working class, through solidarity and struggle, remains the single biggest task in forging the proletarian vanguard in this country,” says Barnes. **Above**, Waterloo, Iowa, May 2008, working people and youth demand immediate release of nearly 400 workers at Agriprocessors packinghouse in nearby Postville, rounded up in immigration raid by federal cops. Protest was outside National Cattle Congress grounds where arrested workers were being held.

## Other titles by Jack Barnes



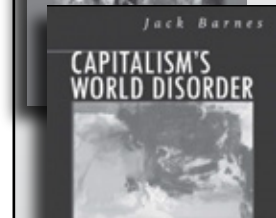
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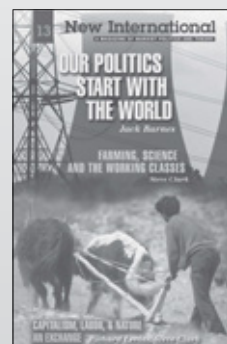
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EDITORIAL

# Capitalism’s ‘natural’ disasters

The devastation resulting from earthquakes that killed and maimed thousands in Indonesia and a tsunami that killed hundreds of others in the Pacific islands of the Samoas and Tonga—as well as recent floods in the Philippines and India that displaced millions—are social, not just natural, disasters.

Earthquakes are acts of nature, but the devastating effects they have on working people are not. It’s the workings of capitalism and imperialism that are behind the acuteness of these social catastrophes, which have been magnified by the worldwide capitalist economic crisis.

The plunder of the natural resources and exploitation of labor of the semicolonial world by the barons of finance capital in Washington, Paris, London, Tokyo, and elsewhere have everything to do with lack of access for millions to electricity, telephones, paved roads, sturdy housing, public sanitation, medical care, and adequate nutrition.

Just one day after the tsunami struck, Chicken of the Sea shut its operations on American Samoa. It

did so rather than raising subpoverty-level wages for the more than 2,100 tuna cannery workers to the federally mandated minimum wage. This is the bosses’ answer to their crisis.

In Indonesia little aid was provided in the days immediately following the earthquake to help rescue thousands trapped under collapsed buildings or mudslides. Rather than getting needed heavy equipment like tractors, bulldozers, and drills, volunteer workers had to fend for themselves, attempting to save what lives they could by digging through mounds of rubble with their bare hands.

Washington announced that it was sending \$300,000, a mere pittance. It promised another \$3 million possibly at some later date “once an assessment has been made” of the situation. U.S. aid to Indonesia’s military is more easily forthcoming. In fact, over the next year the Pentagon projects increasing it by \$10 million.

Massive aid should be provided to all these countries, with no strings attached, and their foreign debt should be immediately cancelled.

## U.S. unemployment reaches 15 million

Continued from front page

as well as those working part-time because they can’t find full-time work.

As a result of the tendency under capitalism for the rate of profit to decline over time, a trend that has marked the last four decades, bosses are faced with more output than they can sell at a profit—a crisis of so-called overproduction. This drives ever more cutthroat competition among capitalists worldwide and a shift from investment in production to increased speculation and mounting debt—now a bursting bubble of fictitious capital.

Under these conditions the expanding reserve pool of labor has served the bosses by fueling competition for jobs and providing a lever to hold down wages and intensify the pace of work.

Unions, for the most part, have put up little resistance, the consequence of decades of class collaboration by the top labor officialdom with the bosses and their government. Labor Department figures on strikes involving more than 1,000 workers have dropped markedly from 21 in 2007, to 15 in 2008, to 2 so far this year.

The revised figures on the second quarter of 2009, released early in September, show a decline of 1.5 percent in the annual rate of output along with a 7.6 percent decline in hours worked, compared to the previous quarter. This means that only a little less is being produced with a lot fewer workers working less hours, resulting in an increase of 6.6 percent in the annual rate of “productivity.” This represents the largest increase since

2003. As a result, unit labor costs for the bosses fell by nearly 6 percent.

‘Cash for clunkers’ fails to ‘stimulate’

After government tax rebates failed to generate spending, the capitalist economic wizards took a more direct approach with a “cash for clunkers” program that offered up to \$4,500 trade-in value for scrapping old working cars to buy new ones.

The fleeting boost this \$3 billion program gave to the auto industry through late August is over and rapidly being reversed. The longer-term effect on the industry and overall capitalist economy is nil at best. The 0.2 percent decrease in fuel consumption per year through the purchase of more fuel efficient cars is negligible—and the “good news for the environment” ignores the impact of 700,000 needlessly junked automobiles.

Overall auto sales fell by 23 percent in September compared to the previous year. GM and Chrysler sales were both more than 40 percent lower. Of all the car manufacturers in the world, only the lower-priced Hyundai and Kia Motors saw any increase in sales last month.

For the moment a number of auto factories are busy replacing depleted inventory. To be sure the bosses are preparing further layoffs for the not-too-distant future to match slumping demand once the lots are restocked.

And now the government is preparing a similar \$300 million program to temporarily boost sales of new home appliances.

## Indonesia quake

Continued from front page

8.0 magnitude created a tsunami that sent giant waves of water crashing into the Pacific islands of Samoa, American Samoa, and Tonga.

In Indonesia one of the hardest hit areas is the port city of Padang. It’s the capital of Indonesia’s West Sumatra province where 900,000 people live. Hundreds of buildings were leveled there, including schools, shops, and the city’s three main hospitals.

At Djamil, the largest public hospital in the city, beds were pulled from the wreckage. Doctors had to treat patients outside in makeshift tents.

“Power cuts and a shortage of medicine forced surgeons to halt operations in a hospital overflowing with gravely injured people,” reported the *Washington Post*. A number of rural villages outside this city were obliterated.

Rescue workers said they needed tractors, bulldozers, and drilling equipment to get through huge slabs of fallen concrete trapping thousands. Many volunteers clawed through the rubble with their bare hands trying to find survivors.

Sutan Maskuri, who lost five siblings, told the *New York Times* some 44 hours after the tsunami hit, “No one’s been here, no soldiers, no police.” No military or relief vehicles could be seen on the road from Padang, the *Times* reported.

Indonesia, the world’s fourth most populous nation, remains a semicolonial country dominated by the billionaire rulers of the United States, Australia, Japan, and other imperialist powers.

Sumatra is a center of Indonesia’s oil and gas industry and a growing pulp and paper industry. Both ExxonMobil and Chevron operate oilfields on the island. There have been no reports of damage at those facilities.

“Although Indonesia has emerged as a favorite of investors over the past year,” noted the *Wall Street Journal*, “it continues to underinvest in infrastructure including hospitals, roads, and power supplies” that could help alleviate “the country’s unusual number of disasters.”

The day after the earthquake, Washington announced it was sending \$300,000 in aid. It also promised to set aside another \$3 million for further assistance “once an assessment has been made of the disaster,” said State Department spokesman Ian Kelly.

Tsunami hits Samoas and Tonga

The death toll is up to 169 from the tsunami that slammed into the shores of the Samoas and Tonga. This includes 129 in Samoa, a former colony of New Zealand with a population of 220,000. In the U.S. territory of American Samoa where 65,000 live, 31 were killed, and 9 died in Tonga. The Samoas are located in the Pacific Ocean halfway between New Zealand and Hawaii.

The Pacific Tsunami Warning Center in Hawaii issued an alert, but it was just 10 minutes before waves struck the islands. “In some villages absolutely no house was standing,” Samoan prime minister Tuilaepa Sailele told Associated Press.

In Tonga, parts of one island have disappeared with two of the island’s three villages virtually flattened, said government spokesman Lopeti Senituli. Some areas of Pago Pago, the capital of American Samoa, are expected to be without power for a month, reported AP.

The majority of the population in American Samoa lives below the official poverty line. Tuna canneries have been the biggest industries there, with Chicken of the Sea and Starkist plants producing two-thirds of the U.S. supply of canned tuna. They employed more than 4,750 workers.

The tuna industry barons have reaped superprofits as this U.S. territory had been exempt from paying the federal minimum wage. In 2007 Congress raised American Samoa’s canneries’ minimum wage from \$3.26 per hour to reach \$7.25 by 2014. In response, Chicken of the Sea shut its plant September 30, cutting more than 2,100 workers.

Flooding in South India in early October has killed some 250 people and left 2.5 million people homeless. In the Philippines nearly 300 people were killed and more than 300 displaced after a typhoon struck.

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